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VOL. VIII.—NO. 43.

EXEMPLIFIED.

Labor Class-Unconsciousness
Goes Down Before Capitalist Class-Consciousness.

The Franklin Association of Feeders
No. 23, Havi g Class-Consciousness
Organized Against their Employers, Lost from that Moment the Scent of the Game they are Tracking—in a Conflict with their Employers, the Accept as Arbitrator an Excrescence of the Class of their Exploiter, Seth Low, and are Promptly Downed.

"Class-consciousness?—Pooh!" Thus goes the saying with many of the workingmen. They think that the principle of "class-consciousness" is a fine-open Socialist theory, based upon false notions—and, proceeding from and upon their own "practical" views, they set their heads bumped regularly. An evident illustration of the power of class-consciousness on the part of the capitalist class, and of the evil results of class-unconsciousness on the part of the working class was furnished this week.

A dispute arose between the Franklin Association of Feeders, No. 23, and the Hypotheces (Employers) Association.

The feeders in the employ of the Foss & Ridge Printing Company, this city, struck in January of last year because the employers refused to pay

at a week on runs of 50,000 or over. On runs of less than 50,000, the scale is \$12 a week. This lower scale was established away back in 1882, when the press machinery had not yet reached its present development, and runs 30,000 and over were not yet known. Since then, however, machinery in this department, keeping step with machinery elsewhere, has wrought prodigious changes, greatly increasing the productivity of Labor. In sight of this increase, the feeders employed on the presses at the Foss & Ridge Printing Company demanded higher wages—the paltry increase of \$2 for runs of 50,000 and over. The company refused, and a strike ensued.

Now we have the essential manifestation of the class struggle between the Working Class and the Capitalist Class. The Capitalist Class, in the possession of the indispensable means of production, not only keeps to itself a large share of the wealth under any given conditions, produced by the Working Class, but it demands for, and keeps on absorbing unto itself all the increase in the productivity of Labor that improved machinisms of production, art and science, to which these capitalists contribute nothing make possible.

John Stuart Mill said somewhere that it was doubtful whether inventions and machinery reduced the toll of a single man, and Marx supplemented this imperfect statement by adding: "who has to work for his living," making the sentence read: It is doubtful that machinery and inventions reduced the toll of a single man who works for his living. The Foss & Ridge Company proceeded upon the theory that underlies the statement. Improved presses, producing with a given number of hands more than older presses, shall not redound to the benefit of the workers by reducing their hours of work; such presses shall redound to the benefit of the capitalist who will thus have so much more plunder. The employees of the company did not demand a surcease of toll, they demanded only a share, a small share, in the increased productivity of their labor; and the conflict broke out.

So far, the workingmen proceeded upon the correct class lines. But they did so only instinctively. How short a distance instinct alone can serve as a trustworthy guide on the cut-up and confusing field of sociology, and how necessary training and education are to pick one's way on that field, the striking employees reveal by their subsequent conduct. They agreed to arbitrate, and upon whom as an arbitrator?—upon one of the most pronounced excrescences of the very class they were fighting—the ex-coffee-cornerer, now College President, SETH LOW. The arbiter was true to his class: his decision contains this passage:

"Since 1881, the size of press has been greatly increased and their rapidity of movement greatly quickened, but of these things the union's scale takes no account. If after sixteen years the discrimination against long runs is still in controversy, it must be either because it is inherently unreasonable or because the whole scale is too high."

All of which means, that the increased wealth, produced by improved presses with quickened rapidity and of increased size, belongs in no way to the producer, but to the class that, owing to its theft-bred ownership of the means of production is in condition to live in idleness and increasing luxury. Seth Low decided against the workers.

The Franklin Feeders' Association No. 23 are now smarting under a defeat that none but class-unconscious workmen can suffer. They have been led by correct instinct in organizing against their employers; but beyond that point, they lost the scent of the game they started to track. Their organization does not recognize the irreparable struggle there is between its own class and the Capitalist Class;

and the result is, that they are tracking—in a conflict with their employers, the Accept as Arbitrator an excrescence of the class of their exploiters, Seth Low, and are prompt downed.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	2,000
In 1890	12,251
In 1892 (Presidential)	21,157
In 1894	22,123
In 1896 (Presidential)	26,564
In 1897	55,622

With this factor we must deal, recognizing that the trades union is an economic necessity; we must now take our stand as to whether to tolerate the traitors as in the past and so invite confusion, or to scourge these mercenary adventurers from the Temple which they disgrace. We must finally settle whether the trades union shall be a lever to raise the workers; or, as in the past, a lever, whose fulcrum is the neck of labor, to boost frauds, like Powderly, from the machine shop into a Commissionership of immigration, and Gompers from a cigar factory into a lucrative office with prospects of capitalist favors as a reward for his rigid "conservatism."

ANTHONY McDONALD,
Scri. Prov. Textile Workers,
S. T. & L. A.

THEY SOWED THE STORM, NOW REAP THE WHIRLWIND.

Professor William Graham Sumner, of Yale, delivered in his city last Monday an impassioned, at times eloquent address against expansion. The title he chose for his discourse was catchy and appropriate: "The Conquest of the United States by Spain." He spoke with fervor against "Imperialism" as an evil that threatened to engulf the nation, he argued against the dreaded calamity with all the intensity that deep apprehension for the dark future prompted his mind to. His closing words were:

There is a saying that "Americans can do anything." Many are willing to run into a hole, trusting to luck and cleverness to get out. There are some things that Americans cannot do, however, and cannot make 2 plus 2 equal 5. You may answer that this is an arithmetical impossibility and is not in the range of our subject. Very well, Americans cannot collect \$2 a gallon tax on whiskey. They tried it through many years, and failed. That is an economic and political impossibility, the roots of which are in the nature of things. Americans cannot govern a city of 300,000 inhabitants so as to get comfort and convenience in it at a low cost and without jobbery. The Fire Department of this city is now demoralized by political jobbery. Spain and all her sessions are not worth so much to you and me as the members of the Fire Department of New Haven. The Americans in Connecticut cannot abolish the rotten borbor system. Americans cannot reform the penitentiary list. It is very doubtful, indeed, if Americans can keep up an army of 100,000 men in time of peace. Americans cannot give the suffrage to negroes throughout the United States. Americans cannot assure life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to negroes inside of the United States. When the negro Postmaster's house was set on fire in the night in South Carolina, and not only he but his wife and children were murdered as they came out, and when, moreover, this incident passed without a single indignation or protestation, it was a bad omen for the extension of liberty to Malays and Tagals by simply setting over them the American flag. Upon a little serious examination, the off-hand disposal of an important question of policy by the declaration that "Americans can do anything" proves to be only a silly piece of bombast. The laws of the universe just as valid for Americans as for anybody else, and if we commit acts we shall have to take consequences, just like other people.

The attitude of Prof. Sumner as depicted in this peroration is that of a man in despair at an approaching storm. To those who only now hear of him, his plight might inspire sympathy; to those acquainted with him through previous utterances his plight inspires justifiable delight: He helped to sow the storm and must now reap the whirlwind.

It is now about twelve years that Prof. Sumner has been delivering himself, off and on, on matters connected with the Social Question. Hardly one of these deliveries but helped lay the foundation upon which the present stupendous blunder of expansion is built, helped to sow the seed from which the present expansion flower is but a blossom.

The corner-stone of the present expansion dementia is quite well pointed out by Prof. Sumner, to wit, a notion that "Americans can do anything," or that "America is entirely unlike any other country." And this notion is one that Prof. Sumner helped to cultivate. Again and again, his arguments against Socialism had that notion for a "clincher": unable to refute Socialism by reason, he regularly resorted to the clap-trap of "Americanism," thus seeking to raise a bar against Socialism by tickling, inciting and encouraging a national superstition that now, unable to do the anti-Socialist work expected of it, is producing its legitimate fruit.

Well may Prof. Sumner and his like tremble at the dark clouds that are gathering on the horizon. In America, no more than elsewhere, do trees grow with their roots in the skies. "Americanism" is no hoodoo.

Lucien Sanial lectures this evening on "Territorial Expansion" at 2314 Second avenue, near 118th street. Price, 25 cents.

GOOD-BYE, NEW PARTY—GOOD-BYE!

Last week, the Populist régime of Kansas went out, and Republican rule resumed sway in all the three departments of the Government. With its passing away in Kansas it has virtually passed away everywhere else. The Populist eclipse is not only total, it is permanent.

This is the season to pass that interesting movement in review. But the work should not be lightly undertaken, nor should the reviewer be limited to an article's space. A good-sized book would be needed to do justice to the subject. A few notes will, however, be here in place.

The cradle song or lullaby of Populism ran to the refrain: "Good-bye, old party; good-bye." The Republican, or Old Party, having sustained some defeats at the hands of Populism, the latter considered itself a permanent factor, and the Republican party permanently overthrown. It has turned out otherwise. And logically so.

In its march onward, Civilization may receive repulses, it may be driven back from points it has reached; but these repulses can only be temporary: a lower grade of Civilization can not in the long run prevail over a higher one. That, and nothing else, was the issue in the conflict between Populism and Republicanism. With all its vices that render it rotten-ripe for overthrow, Republicanism is the highest political expression of the social system founded on the private ownership of the machinery of production. In reaching this highest point in its development, the social system of private ownership in the machinery of production develops within its womb the germs of that higher order where competition for existence—the animal-like struggle for life, can be done away with; where humanity, emancipated from the trammels of individualism, is at last capable, through co-operation, to develop the capabilities of its species. The capitalist system, in its highest expression, is the present conservative form of Social Development, a form whose continuance Civilization peremptorily demands, as the only means to preserve the conquests of the race, until fully educated to its higher mission, the race itself shall be capable to lay aside that form as a scaffolding no longer needed from which to climb up to that higher structure—the Socialist Republic. The Republican party is the political upholder of the transitory, though needed, social system of capitalism.

Up against it Populism roared its head. But the programme of Populism was not the programme of the Social Order next in line of progress. It fought the Republican party, not as the political exponent of a social system that had survived its usefulness, but as the political exponent of a social system that had degenerated; it sought, not the overthrow of the capitalist scaffolding so as to reach a high order, it sought its overthrow so as to bring things back to "American" conditions, to the times of the "Daddies"—in short, it sought to drive Civilization back, make it forfeit all its conquests. Such a movement may have impetus enough to disturb the social equilibrium for a while; permanently it can accomplish nothing sooner or later, and sooner than later, its forces are spent and things as they were regain predominance.

But, in taking the parallax of Populism, it should be contrasted, not with the political expression of the present Social Order only, it should be contrasted also with the political expression of the on-coming next higher Social Order, the Socialist Labor party. Populism claimed for itself all the glories of all human aspirations, accordingly it numerously proclaimed its Socialist, if not its Socialist, spirit. Its attitude in this respect is pregnant with instruction. As a movement of retrogression, it was necessarily a movement of deception. "Socialistic" utterances, official and otherwise, were resorted to recklessly, but always under cover; the S. L. P. was to be captured by blandishments; and the baits that were used were baits to capture the "reformers." In pursuit of this policy, Populism in Kansas adopted the Referendum and Initiative plank: "What more democratic do you want?" it asked in sight of the "stiff-necked" attitude of the S. L. P. Yet one of the last acts of the Kansas Populist Legislature that just expired was to DEFEAT A BILL FOR THE REFERENDUM AND INITIATIVE! As bait, the plank did first rate; but as a dying confession the truth was coughed up.

Good-bye, Populism; good-bye, thou wert an exhalation of the dead past. The present struggle of Civilization is not between WHAT IS and WHAT WAS; it is between WHAT IS and WHAT WILL BE.

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire," that same time ago ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

McKinley having in regular Persian satrap style issued his orders to the Filipinos to submit to the military rule that it has pleased him to bestow upon them, the New York "Tribune," Rep. Benn, hastens to justify such conduct with this argument:

We have to deal with children in the matter of government, and are obliged to act according to the law, it is always foolish to let a child imagine that he controls the situation. So the order of the President, requiring immediate submission or subjection of the Insurrectionists, is the only one possible, and for the people of the Philippines Islands is by far the best thing possible.

Have the officers and press of the Republican party fallen from grace? Has the party that "freed" the negro, whom, in a worse than child-state, it forthwith raised to the stature of political manhood, and to whom it forthwith entrusted the safety of several States, located, not thousands of miles outside of our boundaries, but located right within and at our very vitals, has the party that has such a record behind it, and boasts about it, calling itself the "party of great moral ideas," has that party dropped its morals?

No. The center of gravity of political morals is the material interests of a class politically organized. The material interests of the Old North required the speedy political enfranchisement of the negro: hence the pariah of the day before, was forthwith raised to political peerage to-day, the material interests of that same Republican party would suffer if the Filipino is free: hence the heroes who, arms in hand have withstood Spanish domination, are to be reduced if the thing is possible to the level of pariahs.

Political and moral utterances are unintelligible unless scrutinized by the lamp of the material-class interests of the writer.

The theory upon which court clowns were once kept has not yet lost its force, neither have the clowns ceased to exist. Some one, it was found necessary, there should be to tell the truth with impunity: the result was the Clown, who, with his bells and bangles seemed inoffensive, and thus could utter truths inoffensively, in a manner as to bring them to the notice of those who cared to profit by them. Same conditions and causes, same result.

Our capitalist class enjoys regal power; those about it may not strike any but the attitude of obsequiousness; yet even it realizes the advantage of hearing the truth, provided only it be so told as to amuse it, leaving it free to take the hint or neglect it by affecting to look upon it simply as a joke. The clown in the retinue of the capitalist class is what Arthur Ward called the "Jokist" in the funny magazines, or in the columns of the "business" papers.

Here, for instance, are two truths that proceed from our modern Clowns, and both of which have a sting that goes deep.

The New York "Life," an élite jokist, gets off this:

"I care not," said the Capitalist, "who makes the laws of the country, so long as I can help form the Trusts."

And the Clown in the Indianapolis, Ind., "Journal" throws out the remark:

"Our duty to humanity," said the Confused Philosopher, "demands that we should administer the affairs of the weak and oppressed, and our duty to ourselves demands that we should get mighty good pay for the job."

Ruskin we think it was who suggested that, if one wants to test the integrity of the principles of a publication, he should read, not merely down the column, but across the page. An honest, and therefore consistent, publication will reveal no inconsistencies; a dishonest, and therefore inconsistent, publication will not only contradict itself, but by some occult dispensation of Providence, the contradictions will appear on the same latitudes of the paper.

Mr. James Duncan, a dyed-in-the-wool Labor Fakir, furnishes a striking verification of the above theory in his paper, the Baltimore, Md., "Granite Cutters' Journal."

In an editorial in which he attempts to refute the irrefutable arguments in favor of the class-conscious economic and political struggle of Labor, made by the Corresponding Secretary of the Barre, Vt., Local Union of Granite Cutters, Mr. Duncan says:

There is no reason to believe that the manufacturers will raise objection to our legislation, for it is founded on Justice and equity.

This passage occurs at about the middle of the 4th column on the 4th page of this month's issue. Exactly opposite thereto—at about the middle of the 6th column on the same 4th page—the following declaration turns up, over the signature of the identical Duncan:

We consider it one of the first duties of organized labor, and all friends of labor, to take an emphatic stand against the unjust and tyrannical power of the courts, and against the growing evil of government by injunction, which threatens to subvert the liberties of the working people of America, and that we call upon Congress to fully investigate the cases where injunctions have been issued against workingmen and to provide such laws and remedies as will prevent such arbitrary use of power by the courts.

It takes an ignorant and disreputable Labor Fakir, in pursuit of his own private interests at the cost of the rank and file of the working class who keep him alive, to so put his foot into his own mouth, to declare, in one place, that the justice and equity of the workingman's demands is a guarantee of the capitalist's acceptance of those demands, and in an other place on the self-same page, urge the workers, as their first duty, to secure legislation against the injustice which that same capitalist practices against them through his Courts.

Five them out, proletarians!

THEY DON'T WANT TO SPOIL THEIR GAME WITH THE CAPITALISTS.

New York "Forwaerts," German Organ of the S. L. P.

In the December issue of the "International Wood-Worker," whose Editor, Thomas J. Kidd, was elected in Kansas City a member of the Executive of the American Federation of Labor, we find the following, characteristic outpouring on the occasion of the dissolution of a strike in Minneapolis:

The men were out only a few days when the company gracefully withdrew the notice of reduction. The manager of the Bostonfield Co. has had an excellent record for the past twenty-five years, and during all that time there has been complete harmony between him and those in his employ. The union men entertain no animosity towards him. FEELING THAT HE WAS ACTING IN A MANNER TO BENEFIT HIS INSTITUTION; at the same time they felt justified in taking the stand they did because the men had been so long and so patiently maintained.

IT CAN DO INJURY TO THE WOODEN-WARE MANUFACTURERS IF THEIR EMPLOYEES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY ORGANIZE AND INCREASE WAGES.

It will simply mean a slight increase in the prices of their products.

Something that the consumer will have no objection to.

This endeavor of propitiating the capitalists towards the workingmen is characteristic of the whole attitude of the pure and simple trade unionist.

Not in politics only, but also in their economic tactics, they are guided by the principle that they must not place themselves in irreconcilable opposition to the capitalists.

As to politics, the principle was given

expression to at the convention of the American Federation, by the delegate who declared: "If we bind ourselves to any 'ism,' it will be useless to petition Congress or the State Legislatures for laws." The pure and simple only mean to beg for crumbs of charity, candy-sticks, from the present ruling class; hence, they may not hostilize the ruling class with the tactics of the class struggle, but, on the contrary, must give the ruling class to understand that, for the sake of an occasional stick of candy, they are ever-ready to forget the usual horse-whippings meted out to them, even to kiss the hand that swings the whip.

To what extent the pure and simple leaders are intent upon disowning, even in their economic tactics, the spirit of the class struggle, the assertion of which would prove to the capitalists the uselessness of the occasional sticks of candy, has been shown by the miners' organization in the most striking manner. The passage quoted above reveals the fact that the leadership of the wood-workers takes the identical sorry posture. And this posture, which denies the class struggle and, along with that, the whole foundation of the Labor Movement, did not now for the first time find expression in Kidd's organ. The article in the December issue of the "International Wood-Worker" might have been considered as an accidental slip, all the more in view of the insignificance of the occasion. But this article is a repetition of former "implorations for harmony," and must be judged to get

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WHAT ARE WE TO "CAPTURE"?

A Word on the Cattle-Market, Mis-called A. F. of L. Convention.

BOSTON, Jan. 14.—Some men are comedians by nature, and some joke hard for a living. We may place the A. F. of L. conventioners in the former class. A better farce was never played, more graceful scoundrels never displayed their wares to greater advantage, and the the fatal good nature and blind to death trust of the working class were never more in evidence. We, the Socialists of this country, underline certain events for future reference, and no matter what the "union wrecking" cry may be, we shall revert to them again and again, until the workers have learned what they really mean.

In the name of the decaying shoe-makers of Massachusetts, what was Harry Skeffington doing in the convention supposed to represent people who work for a living? What was any one of the Massachusetts brigade doing where politics were barred? George McNeill, one of the "fathers" of the labor movement makes his living by politics, as do the "fathers" of other things connected with trades unions. It is a sad but very true fact, that these "fathers" crop up every little while until they now outnumber the fathers of a count or a duke made specially for the American market. And what is this International that sent Skeffington? Is that a joke also? There was an International which tided him over a period of hard luck, but it went the way of all pure and simple affairs when he stepped from the necks of the workers to the velvet of a government job. But matter is unstable, and even a change of labor rates in office is advisable sometimes, and of late Skeate Skeffington has been looking for a place to lay his head.

It is strange but true that the leader often finds in the disadvantages and calamities of his class the chance that gives him a good thing, just the same as a pack of wolves falls upon the one that is hurt or drops out of the ranks. The union that finds itself up against the hard cold fact of a striker or a lockout, is the favorite stamping ground of the "leaders." When Brockton had to face the music, Brother Tobin sent out the most glowing reports of what we could win. Then that we could win took the form of a good stiff defeat, but Tobin had other ends besides his strike in the fire. THE DOUGLAS FACTORY HAD TAKEN THE STAMP." Let all men rejoice, let us stand on our heads, because if you make shoes for a living it is hard to stand on your feet. The news was heralded all over the country as an indication that prosperity had descended on the workers with a large descent. Mr. Douglas, clever advertiser that he is, looked on the amount of free puffing that Mr. Tobin gave him with glee. Mr. Tobin spread the news broad-cast, other unions were told to go and do likewise, the men were congratulated, and—the Brockton strike was lost; yes, lost in such a way that the workers there are more at the mercy of the employer than ever, because the whole heart-rending weakness of the organization has been exposed, in such a way that the employers will have even less respect than usual for it. But there is the Douglas victory? Victory! What is the victory of getting in some cases less than you got before? The uniform price list which was presented proves that a great blunder has been committed. It may be the policy of non-Socialists to level down, but it is not our way of doing business. When the new price list was sent in to Mr. Douglas, it was found that a considerable saving could be made on lasting. This "saving," rest assured, did not come out of the employer, but was in reality a good cut-down on some grades of work. Mr. Douglas saw a way to gain advertising and to save money so he took the stamp, and there is no manufacturer who would not cover his goods a foot deep with stamps if thereby he could lessen the cost of production. What did the workers get out of all this? Nothing, not even the surety that they could retain the price they now receive.

The Douglas affair did not end with the advertising given free at the expense of the workers. Another chapter was added in the shape of Harry Skeffington who was put on the road to push the "Union Label" goods. More advertising follows: Skeffington, one of the best known "labor leaders" was selling the goods among the people who had pushed him into a job. He turns up at Kansas City and amid much applause tells of the "victory" won by the shoe workers. He advertises the shoe for which he is agent, distributes literature giving the text of the agreement, has the delegates hurried for his employer, and while this professional work is going on, work for which Mr. Douglas paid, John Tobin, who is supposed to guard the interests of the shoemakers, nodded his approval. Who paid Skeffington's expenses to that convention? There is no International and if any other union paid, they simply cut own the expenses of one of Mr. Douglas' agents. Now, for an other question, could it be that the manufacturer paid? We know not, it would have been worth while.

Massachusetts out-did herself in the delegates sent this year. There must be some special fitness in politicians because we sent nothing else. During the last State campaign the Democrats saw that things were likely to go badly with them sent out on the stump every labor leader available. Lloyd dropped words from his lips sweeter than honey of "the Socopoeian bee which swarmed on lips of poets sleeping." There were no bees about George McNeill, though he spoke from the same platform, as did our old friend Skeffington. These three of a kind were powerless to overcome the Republican lead, and the estimation in which Lloyd is held is shown by the fact that he ran away behind his ticket. The rest were on par, all connected with some party, all working at all times for the interests of that party. When comrades look back with regret to the time when we were "bearing our way" in the A. F. of L., let them for a moment consider what it would be possible to capture there.

Are the delegates from Massachusetts to return to the constituents they do not possess, and tell them that the convention has declared for politics on class lines? The constituents of these men are the Democratic and Republican parties, and the work that these parties want done, rest assured, will be done while the workers continue to allow such men to manipulate the trades union movement. They have played us false so often that the story is now an old one. We have tried to revamp the old unions, we have tried to revise and bring up to date unions which existed in the minds and credentials only of the politicians who were sent to keep the tollers in line. The time came when the utter futility of all this was seen and then the S. T. & L. A. was at hand to help us. Do you think the cry and wall which went forth, did not come from men who were hit? The very venom of the attacks made proved that the new union is a weapon of great force. We have had enough of these jokes, with exponents of the capitalist parties as practical jokers, and Mr. Gompers as the little joker. The time has come when a decided stand must be made against a state of affairs that not only makes an occurrence like that at Marlboro possible, but also makes it unavoidable.

I said three months ago in these columns that a Chinese wall had been erected there, but that we would get in. We had not been allowed a hearing at Brockton—a pure and simple trick—but by main force we threw a speaker into Marlboro, and one of the most surprising lessons ever taught the workers of this country was given. We expected opposition, but what happened was in excess of the things usually in line. A politician, a man known throughout the B. & S. W. U. as a bitter opponent of progressive measures, was the leader, and when he had been sufficiently filled by the "Socialistically inclined" Tobin he was ripe for any thing. A more basely and cowardly act could not be imagined. Here is this man Murray who has opposed politics in the unions for years, and who has claimed that the workers should be "allowed to think for themselves"—a thing never denied them—who when the union which he heads is on strike, dares not only to help capitalist parties, but in public opposes the entrance of one of our speakers on the field. How is this for letting the voters chose for themselves? This is one of the men we might send home from an A. F. of L. convention to teach Socialism. We sent a woman to speak in Marlboro, knowing that she was competent to give a scientific exposition of her subject, and yet when engaged in educating the strikers in methods which would make the suffering which comes with a strike impossible, the strikers, urged on by the words of this man Murray, turn on her. "The DOUGLAS FACTORY HAD TAKEN THE STAMP." Let all men rejoice, let us stand on our heads, because if you make shoes for a living it is hard to stand on your feet. The news was heralded all over the country as an indication that prosperity had descended on the workers with a large descent. Mr. Douglas, clever advertiser that he is, looked on the amount of free puffing that Mr. Tobin gave him with glee. Mr. Tobin spread the news broad-cast, other unions were told to go and do likewise, the men were congratulated, and—the Brockton strike was lost; yes, lost in such a way that the workers there are more at the mercy of the employer than ever, because the whole heart-rending weakness of the organization has been exposed, in such a way that the employers will have even less respect than usual for it. But there is the Douglas victory? Victory!

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S. S.

HAVERHILL.

(Continued from page 1.)

only party which unhesitatingly takes its stand upon the class struggle, whose platform is international because it knows that to be successful it must be as broad as the system it seeks to overthrow and in harmony with the international programme; revolutionary because it stands for the complete annihilation of capitalism; Socialist because it is conscious of the trend of social evolution and uncompromisingly committed to the abolition of the wage system; labor because its platform is the only political platform in America pledged to the working class, and them alone. Therefore, no other party in Haverhill, Massachusetts or the United States is a Socialist party. All others are committed in whole or part to capitalist or middle class "reforms," which are as death to the workers' interests. Such was the Greenback party with its finance reform. Such was the Populist party, now defunct, with its bogus public ownership reforms. Such is the Social Democratic party, now triumphant in this city, with its middle class, farmers' programme. Their utterances before and since election prove beyond a doubt that at best they are but a reform party, and as such they belong to the same class as their Populist progenitor—the middle class, and are an incident and not a factor in the solution of this social question. Bear in mind that it is easy to claim to be a Socialist party. But claiming to be one does not necessarily make it such. Socialists, the world over, stand for the same thing, the same end in view, and are guided in their tactics, which are revolutionary the world over, by their knowledge of the class struggle, aiming at the emancipation of the proletariat. Such is the Socialist Labor party. All others are but the decoy ducks of the capitalist class. Workingmen of Haverhill, while you undoubtedly cast your votes, honestly intending to benefit your condition, through the triumph of Socialism, Socialism did not triumph. Instead you lifted into office individuals who, whatever else they may be, are not Socialists, and whose aim and object is to ground the emancipating and life-giving currents which propels the social revolution, the Socialist Labor party. Therefore the Socialist Labor party refuses to consider the late municipal upheaval as a Socialist victory, or the conduct of the victors before election or while in office as the conduct of Socialists. They are "reformers," and Socialists are not.

SECTION HAVERHILL, S. L. P.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

An Allegheny, Pa., Worker Tells of his Conversion.

To THE PEOPLE.—I want to state in this letter why I have become a Socialist. A few years back I cast my vote for "Home Rule and Protection and Prosperity" and the papers said that I had voted 15 per cent. in support of wages the very next march, and it has been continually on the decline ever since. But, of course, just before the next election we will all get an increase; and so it has been for the last 20 years; and so it will be for the next 20 (though I hope not) unless the workingmen take a tumble themselves upon us. I am sure that a great many of the workers will be turned out, it is evident that the issue will be forced upon the people much sooner than expected by many. A great strike or some other unforeseen event is not at all unlikely.

Every effort should be made by the rank and file of the party, and our new friends and sympathizers to express their opinion among the workers; our opportunity should be neglected; we haven't any much time to do so. The work to be accomplished is immense, and some of the comrades here are of the idea that our time is very limited.

Almost every day we see the announcement of the formation of some large trust. Out of an industrial capital in 1898 of \$23,500,000,000 is in the control of great combinations of capital. While the directory publishers of the new Chicago directory state that prior to its publication 120,000 women had displaced that number of men during 18 months.

Comrades, agitate, educate, organize; remember, in the end, the education that bears fruit. It is only by the force of our power and intelligence that we will emancipate ourselves from capitalism and the competitive system.

Some of our optimistic California friends claim that this State will poll 30,000 or 40,000 in 1898.

Fraternally yours, JOSEPH H. ALFONSO.

San Francisco, Cal., Jan. 10.

Retrospect and Prospect.

To THE PEOPLE.—What I here wish to say would, if said a month ago, have been mainly a reminiscence of the late campaign in the 16th New York Assembly District. As the next campaign is drawing near, it may serve the more valuable purpose of a timely forecast.

Late in 1897, open air meetings had adjourned, and the enthusiasm on the streets had subsided, a number of comrades went together into a restaurant in the District to take some supper. Most of these went home as soon as they had satisfied the inner man, leaving behind them Comrades Lissauer, Fry, myself and one or two others, who sat down to talk over the situation.

At 2 o'clock in the morning, "Humpy" (the right belliger of the Tammany District Leader Pat Keenan) came in with his staff of hooligans and sat down around the tables near where Comrade Lissauer was carrying on a hot debate with some Republicans. "Humpy," seeing that his Republican political adversary had the floor, turned to his cronies and said, "I don't care what you pointed out that night, but I will be sure to make it up to you."

"If your candidate for Assembly in this District gets a bigger vote than last year, we will next year take up some Socialist clubs with a large following, gather enough signatures to enable us to take an open seat in the Legislature, and then we will be able to take about 300 votes away from you; we will cover all of our campaign expenses, and give him a \$1,200 job after election."

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PUBLIC EMPLOYEES.

Their State Tells the Tale as to How Things are Outside.

ELLWOOD CITY, Pa., Jan. 15.—I have been reading the papers and have seen all about Gompers' "victory" over "that Socialist that is the very opposite of trades unionism and so un-American." Always being a worker in trades that have no organization, and seeing in no direction any example of the benefits conferred by any union upon any of my friends or anyone else who did belong to them, I have always had a very poor opinion of unions, and fully sympathized with my friends who were members and who were always complaining of the rottenness and the shortcomings of their union. Mr. Gompers' remarks have caused me to pay much more heed to the labor movement than I ever did before, especially as I have begun to understand the meaning of Capitalism and Socialism, which not only gives me an idea of the importance of a labor movement, but shows the danger of such a decoy, sham labor movement as the A. F. of L. or any other body of workmen with a capitalist politician and his henchmen, in disguise (and a thin one, too) at its head, "keeping politics out" without themselves even having the decency to have a political conviction of their own, but have their "influence" for sale to the highest bidder, so that at each election we are disgusted with the sight of each leader flying around with his little union influence tail behind him. One is bought by this party, as Male Garland of the Amalgamated; and another by that party, like Sovereign by the Democrats, and even so down to the petty resolutions endorsing each dog-catcher or squire and "friend of labor," regardless of party or party principles, so long as it is capitalistic. I have noticed that at such times those active and influential persons from such unions were in a happy frame of mind, and were very busy talking up Mr. So-and-So's policies and that if necessary they would clinch the argument of whatever you would call it, with a drink on himself, an unusual proceeding. Such things always disgusted me so that I felt that under no circumstances would I consent to be yoked up with such gullible ignoramus with their evidently unprincipled leaders. But as I said before, THE PEOPLE and Gompers have set me to thinking, and if I knew any length of time what I was going to work at, the trade was organized. I would certainly be among them.

I have always felt bad towards the unions for closing, as far as they were able, all opportunities of learning a trade; and always thought that if they expected "labor" to be friendly and assist them, that they should be willing to do the same, but since they forced me to work the wages of which are low, this fact would allow me to buy non-union or un-labeled goods because they were cheap and better fitted to my wages. The small portion of workingmen who are organized and the utter failure of boycotts and label agitation show that I was not alone. In my lonesome way, I always felt that any man who did no work or any man who received a greater return for his work than my wages, was my material enemy, since less of his life went into my living than mine went into his, and he therefore was using up my vitality without giving me an equivalent for it.

But, enough; as it now is, I ask why, since the industrial labor fakirs are such dear friends to all capitalist politicians, and all such politicians are such staunch friends of labor, is it so that public employees do not fare any better at their hands, especially since they are supposed to give these politicians their undivided support? I want to know. Having worked for the State of Pennsylvania in different capacities, on and off, the last ten years, I would through that experience call your attention to a thing or two.

First, public employees are an increasing quantity and will continue to be.

Second, they are as free as anyone else to vote as they choose if they only think so, which most of them do.

Third, public employees, if organized, are in a position, first of any, to get the benefit of any beneficial legislation, since the Government itself would publicly have to violate its own laws if it did not enforce them when called on to do so. As it is, no one knows whether the public employees are working contrary to labor laws or not, as they have no voice and are afraid.

Fourth, other employees can use their political power with deadly effect in favor of better labor laws. If they are once freed from the baleful influence of the fakirs, they can know also that all improvement made in the condition of public employees must tend to uplift those employed elsewhere and go towards counteracting the bad effects of over-competition through machinery. Right here notice that all directors of public institutions are capitalists and are interested in one way or another in establishments employing men. Do you think that such "successful business men" get their success through their blindness to their class interests? Would they, do you think, rather see the conditions of public employees or the conditions of their own employees be the better? Would they rather see their hands striving to get into public service or see the public employees trying to get a place in private employment? They know the value of competition too well to admit of more than one answer. When one thinks of the freedom that could be used by these people, in paying good wages with the public cash being expert tax-dodgers, having no fears of private loss on that account and making their job solid for time to come by taffying the working class into keeping such practical friends of labor always at the spigot, or bung-hole even; he marvels why it is not so; until he sees the class struggle and realizes the importance of government and politics to the interests of the capitalist class. Who can gain more by standing together and making their class interests safe, than they could by each looking after his private interests regardless of the common class interests, which is as true of any other class. I now consider a public party as a sort of half-way house, a purgatory between a decent job and

A. R. GINNER.

EXEMPLIFIED.

(Continued from page 1.)

It imagines the conflict can be "patched up"; thus it blurs the line that should sharply separate in their minds the capitalists goats from the Labor sheep. In this confusion of mind, the class-conscious workingmen exalt into political power the class that oppresses them, and, on the economic field, place their backs confidingly into the noose of a capitalist arbitrator.

Let them learn by experience; and no longer pooh-poohing at the "fine-spun Socialist theory about the class struggle," pick their way by the light of Seth Low's arbitral awards on the economic and Hazleton-Demo-Repubican massacres of the workingmen on the political field, straight into the class-conscious economic camp of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the political camp of the Socialist Labor party.

Hurry up, brothers!

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Bandow, 103 Champlain street, Cleveland, O.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Executive Committee, Secretary George Moore, 61 Ryde street, Montreal.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—147 East 23rd street, New York City. ("The party's literary agency.")

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Session of Jan. 15, with W. H. Wherry in the chair. Absent: Malicki and Klineley. Secretary reported that he had succeeded in securing a loan of \$300 to help tide over the difficulty in meeting payments on the Almanac and meeting extra-expenses occasioned by starting the store for the Labor News Company. The financial report for the week ending Jan. 13 showed a balance before expenses of \$80, expenditures, \$49.86.

A report was received to the effect that the "Abendblatt," the Jewish official organ of the party, had published the minutes of the N. E. C. of Jan. 3 giving a garbled version of the "Putney letter"; that the Publishing Association had already taken action, passing a vote of censure upon the editor of the "Abendblatt" for publishing that letter. The editor of the "Abendblatt" denied that in publishing reports of the proceedings of the N. E. C. the same must be given exactly as they emanate from this N. E. C.; and that this N. E. C. demands unswerving allegiance to the party from all party organs.

Section North Adams, Mass., reported the expansion of a member with a vote of 5 to 3. The Section is to be informed of the result of the election, the national party demands by the constitution under Sec. 30 of Art. II, and that the N. E. C. cannot under these circumstances publish the name of the member in question as having been ex-pelled.

Organizer Hickey reported on his work in Pennsylvania, successfully in every respect. Several communications from Minnesotans indicating differences of opinion in the Section, but as the information therein was of a fragmentary character, it was resolved to await further developments.

Charters were granted to new Sections in: Erie, Pa., and Delta, Colo.

A. S. BROWN, Rec. Secretary pro tem.

Indiana.

INDIANAPOLIS.—We are so much in the finding that we have not much time for correspondence.

The members of the S. L. P. from Indiana send their best greetings and wishes of success to the party on the New Year.

Some of our Eastern comrades claim to have the banner increase in the vote at the last election, which we here dispute.

In Indiana can boast of a 600 per cent increase; can any other State of equality, or better?

We think not. The outlook in Indiana is bright. The Sections are on a better basis than ever before. We feel sure that we shall follow close on the heels of the best of the sister States. After the next election, the Indiana S. L. P. will be an official party. Never before have the comrades been so eager to work as since the return of the last election stirred them up. This Summer we shall have an effective party of agitation. Section Indianapolis will hold a big March Celebration, the proceeds to go to the State Campaign Fund. Our Section celebrated New Year's eve with an entertainment in Columbia Hall. It was a great success; the hall was packed full, a large sum was realized.

RESOLVED, That notwithstanding the fact that this awful deed has cast a deep sorrow over us, we harbor no feeling of vengeance or hatred against his slayer, knowing that the perpetrator of this crime is but a product of a system in which a small minority of the people can live in idleness and debauchery—ofttimes bending to the will of the great masses are unprotected in life and limb, the prey of the former; further be it

RESOLVED, That the untimely death of our comrade only strengthens our determination to redouble our efforts for a speedy abolition of such vicious, crime-breeding systems to raise our beloved country from a low-grade civilization to a higher plane of civilization, where crime and vice, crimes just shall have ceased to exist and crime like this will be impossible! further be it

RESOLVED, That we heartily thank all friends for the help and assistance rendered in burying our comrade.

The funeral took place on Wednesday, the 4th. Behind the hearse marched the Lassalle Maennerchor with their beautiful red banner, wrapped with black ribbon, followed Section San Antonio also in line of march, headed by the State Organizer, bearing wreath with a large red bow, and a red background showing the Arm and Hammer, also the initials of our party. "S. L. P." demonstrating to the astonished onlookers that there was such a thing as the brotherhood of men. Comrade Chase M. delivered the funeral oration, and the Lassalle Maennerchor, of which deceased was an active member, sang a beautiful dirge.

SECTION SAN ANTONIO, S. L. P.

General Agitation Fund.

Previously acknowledged \$789.91

Ernest Lehman, Barre, Vt. 1.52

M. Lehman, Utica, N. Y.50

Section Philadelphia, Pa., per T. A. Hickey 4.00

Section Scranton, Pa., per Hickey50

Section Dubuque, Ia., per Hickey50

Section Altoona, Pa., per Hickey00

Pennsylvania State Committee, per T. A. Hickey 4.00

Total \$866.93

Daily PEOPLE MINIUM FUND.

Previously acknowledged \$2,305.24

M. Scott, New York City 1.00

Total \$2,306.24

Press Fund for the Workers' Republic, Dublin, Ireland.

Previously acknowledged \$19.60

M. Morris, Chicago, Ill., on list 25, 9.00

John Connelly, Jersey City, N. J. 1.00

Total \$20.60

N. H. Sections having on hand any money collected for this fund, will please make remittance on account, so that first instalment can be sent to Dublin.

The numerous calls that have come in for the New Bedford speech "What Means This Strike?" published in these columns some time ago, has determined the National Executive Committee to reprint it in pamphlet form. It can be had at the Labor News Company, 64 E. 4th street, this city. Single copies, 5 cents; 10 copies, 30 cents; 100 copies, \$2.50.

M. Steel, of Section Newburgh, would like to hear from Harry Pierce, formerly of said Section, and now supposed to be somewhere in the East.

1. Election of chairman and secretary pro tem.

2. Election of committee on credentials.

3. Election of permanent officers.

4. Election of committees:

a. Party Press and Literature.

b. Resolutions.

c. Agitation and Organization.

d. Ways and Means.

e. Auditing.

5. Report of State Committee and its suggestions.

6. Report of Counties and propositions.

7. Report of committees.

8. Unfinished business.

9. New business.

10. Good and welfare.

11. Time and place of next convention.

Comrades, and sympathizers from rural districts are most respectfully invited to attend in order to give the delegates information on the state to be taken regarding organization and agitation, so that a full representation from throughout the State will be the result of this call and that every comrade will help to accomplish this, we remain,

Yours fraternally,

STATE COMMITTEE, S. L. P., J. P. LEWIS, Secretary.

NEWARK.—All Socialists and sympathizers with the Socialist Labor party living in the 10th and 12th Ward are respectfully invited to attend a meeting to be held Saturday evening, Jan. 21, at No. 18 Polk street, for the purpose of forming a Branch of the S. L. P. Meeting will be called at 8:15 promptly.

Let them learn by experience; and no longer pooh-poohing at the "fine-spun Socialist theory about the class struggle," pick their way by the light of Seth Low's arbitral awards on the economic and Hazleton-Demo-Repubican massacres of the workingmen on the political field, straight into the class-conscious economic camp of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the political camp of the Socialist Labor party.

With the kind assistance of the allied German and English Singing Societies, Zither Class of the Free German School of the West Side and the Tyrol Zither Quartett of Umhey, On—

Sunday, Jan. 22d, 1899.

WENDEL'S HALL, 24 to 34 West 4th street.

Tickets, 15 cents to Person.

Gents' Wardrobe, 10 Cts.

Everybody welcome! Admission free!

Commencing at 7:30 P. M.

THE COMMITTEE.

THE PEOPLE'S

New-Years Greeting

for

1899.

is out. It is simple in design but very striking and full of effect.

Against a background, dirty from the thick smoke from the many long factory chimneys,

rises the muscular figure of a young workingman, holding in his left hand a laurel wreath

stating the number of votes cast this year for the S. L. P., and in

the uplifted right the weapon

with which the victory has been

wrung—the Socialist Hammer.

The expression in the face as

well as the whole attitude is

bold, full of determination and

embodiment in a very forcible

way the aggressiveness and mil-

itant spirit of our movement

and of THE PEOPLE. Suitable

inscriptions surround the figure

and on the sides are calendar

tables.

The colors are very well ap-

plied and it presents altogether

a very impressive ensemble.

PRICE 10 CENTS, sent to any

address.

"DAILY PEOPLE" CONFERENCE.

Delegates should not fail to attend the above conference meeting on

Sunday, Jan. 22d, 1899,

in 98 Ave. C.

Report of Resolution Committee will be up for discussion.